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these remarks refer to negotiations in July, 1866, between the ministers of the South German states at Munich.

The French version of von Ruville's book reproduces without change all the statements which von Müller criticizes. It reproduces even the reference to Pfordten's lost speech, delivered in empty space.

MUNROE SMITH.

*The Life of George Joachim Goschen, First Viscount Goschen, 1831-1907.* In two volumes. By the Hon. ARTHUR D. ELLIOT. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1911. Pp. xiii, 321; ix, 300.)

EVERY good contribution to English political biography has usually what may be described as one central value—a value over and above all else in the book that makes it of peculiar service to students of history. Some biographies throw much new light on political movements. Those of Peel and Cobden are typical of this class. Others illuminate a departure in colonial policy or the origin and conduct of a war; and others again add to what was known of ministerial crises of first importance. Goschen was sympathetically and helpfully associated with no great forward movement in English politics in the last half of the nineteenth century. Nominally he was a Whig, although not born into the Whig cult. On some questions—such as the ballot and the abolition of church rates and denominational tests at the universities—he was radical, and quite out of sympathy with the Tories. But on such questions as the extension of the franchise he was much more Tory than Whig. All his life he distrusted and dreaded democracy. He repudiated the contention of radical reformers that the poverty and social squalor of the mass of the people was in any way due to class legislation in the eighteenth century, or that the governing class was responsible for these conditions; and on questions of constitutional change he was almost invariably ready and eager to group himself with the standpatters, whether they were Whig or Tory.

He was of a family, German in origin and pushing in social ambitions, but not sufficiently long established in England to have any political traditions. Temperamentally, however, Goschen was a Tory on most political issues; and the wonder is how he was ever accepted as a Liberal candidate at Ripon and Edinburgh—constituencies that he represented between his service as one of the four members for the City of London (a service ending in 1868) and his election as Conservative for the Hanover Square division of Westminster in 1888. He was a stirring figure in the Home Rule crisis of 1886; he was the pivotal figure in the ministerial crisis at the end of 1887 brought about by Randolph Churchill's unexpected resignation of the chancellorship of the exchequer in the Salisbury administration. There is much new light on both these crises in the early years of the Home Rule struggle at Westminster—particularly in many hitherto unpublished letters from Hartington, and in

Goschen's diaries and letters to his wife. But the central value of the biography—the value that distinguishes it from all political biography since Parker's *Life of Peel* was published in 1899—is the wealth of new material it contains concerning political parties between Russell's succeeding Palmerston as leader of the Whigs in 1866, with Russell's efforts at that time to give a Liberal tinge to his cabinet, and the split in the Unionist party in 1903, due to Mr. Chamberlain's retirement from the Balfour administration to push his propaganda for a protective tariff.

For the history of changes, developments, and crises in the two great parties, Mr. Elliot's biography of Goschen is the most valuable contribution to political history since Croker's *Diaries* were published in 1885. Cobden once told Goschen—in a letter, February 6, 1864—that he was a fresh ship likely to be dangerous to both political parties. In his Parliamentary career Goschen was of the Whig, Liberal-Unionist, and Conservative parties, and there were times when he described himself as a Liberal. It is because Mr. Elliot has with painstaking care and with well-presented detail followed Goschen through these recurring crises that his biography is so valuable a contribution to the history of political parties. Detail is especially characteristic of Mr. Elliot in narrating the division in the Whig Liberal party over the Gladstone Home Rule bill of 1885, with the result that the biography of Goschen is the fullest history yet between covers of the greatest crisis in the annals of the Liberal party.

*A. Thiers, Chef du Pouvoir Exécutif et Président de la République Française, 17 Février 1871–24 Mai 1873.* Par PIERRE F. SIMON. (Paris: Édouard Cornély et Cie. 1911. Pp. xvi, 358.)

M. SIMON's volume was awarded the Rossi prize for 1909 by the law faculty of the University of Paris. It is a study of the Thiers régime rather than of Thiers, the subject of the competition having been the executive in France from the assembling of the National Assembly in February, 1871, to the crisis of May 24, 1873.

The Thiers régime, M. Simon declares, was a unique system of government. The Republic existed, but only as a provisional arrangement. The National Assembly possessed sovereign power and a majority of its members was determined that the Republic should not become permanently established. Circumstances dictated the choice of Thiers as head of the government. Never in real accord with the majority of the assembly, he ruled owing to its acquiescence rather than with its support. In the combined capacities of responsible *chef du gouvernement*, president of the council of ministers, and deputy, he guided and controlled the assembly. Occasionally he yielded a point of minor importance, but upon all of the great questions, the tariff, the army, local government, the majority in the assembly gave way to him until he attempted to force the definitive establishment of the Republic. This reversal of the usual parliamentary process M. Simon attributes to the fact that